1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

wife. Not infrequently it happens that two or more girls become enamoured of the same man. Then fierce fights are often fought out between the rivals, who in these encounters sometimes use knuckle-dusters or sharp-pointed bone awls (see fig. 111). The Choroti girls have a somewhat peculiar way of demonstrating their tender feelings towards their beloved; they do not kiss him, but scratch him with their nails and spit in his face![1]

When a woman has been taken to wife by the man she has chosen, the latter comes to live in her village, at least for some period of time.[2]

Division of labour as between the sexes among the Choroti.

M = men; W = Women.

Rearing and care of livestock	M[3]	W[3]
Fire kindling, by drilling	M	
Collecting fuel		W
» wild growing, edible plants		W
» wild honey	M[3]	
Hunting and catching game	M	
Preparing the food	M[4]	W
Cultivation of food plants	M	W
Wool and cotton spinning		W
Sewing	M[5]	W[5]
Manufacture of feather ornaments	M	
» » articles of calabash	M	
» » pottery		W
» » articles of leather	M	W[5]
» » fishing nets	M	
» » articles of wood	M	
» » weapons	M	
» » bags, knitted of caraguata yarn		W
» » » » » woollen »		W
Load carrying		W
Hut building	M	W
Weaving		W[5]
Drawing and carrying water		W
Beer brewing	M[5]	W[5]

The heavier burden of work undoubtedly falls to the lot of the women. It is their business to gather edible fruits, to carry home fuel and water, to prepare the food, and, of course, also to tend the children. When the tribe is travelling, it is the women who carry the household furniture and

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 81.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 83.
[3] According to Nordenskiöld (13), p. 87.
[4] Roasting the food. According to Nordenskiöld (13), p. 87.
[5] Beer fermenting, only. According to Nordenskiöld (13), p. 87.

[Text continues on p.163]

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
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very qualities which the Indians appreciate in their leaders. He was valiant, cunning, and eloquent, and, being a great warrior, had provided his people with firearms which made the Tobas superior in war to all other Chaco tribes and dangerous enemies even to the whites.

The Eakachi, as is customary in the Chaco, hold their assemblies under a shady algaroba tree, generally at the time of the new moon. Besides watching the conduct of their chiefs, they have to deliberate questions of war and peace and to appoint an extraordinary chief when an attack against an enemy is planned. In addition, they act as judges or arbitrators in quarrels and fights between the men.

A social feature characteristic of all Chaco tribes is the relative matriarchy or »mother-right» prevailing among them. Descent is traced through the female, the child being supposed to belong to the mother's, and not to the father's, tribe or clan. Closely connected with this idea is the custom prevailing among most matriarchal peoples, that when a man marries, he stays with his wife's family, becoming a member of her clan. All these features are found among the Pilcomayo tribes, but particularly among the *Choroti* where »mother-right» has developed into real mother-rule. Thus in those parts of the Choroti country where they are neighbours with other tribes and intermarriage takes place, it is the rule that if the woman is of the Choroti tribe the children become members of that tribe, whereas, if a Choroti man marries a woman of another tribe, he himself and the children become members of that tribe. This was particularly noticeable in regard to the Ashluslay in the South with whom the Choroti frequently intermarry. Thus the »great chief» of the Choroti living near the fort Guachalla, the old Atamo, was on his father's side of Ashluslay descent, but his mother being a Choroti woman he had himself become a Choroti.

The »mother-right» of the Choroti is not carried to such an extreme that for instance the maternal uncle or some other relative on the mother's side is regarded as the guardian of the children. Among the Choroti both parents are the guardians of the child although, as in other matters, the mother has always more to say. Nor does it imply that parentage is wholly attributed to the mother. On the contrary, the custom of couvade, as it is observed by the Choroti, shows that this maternal people is well aware of the father's great rôle in the procreation of children. The »mother-right» of the Choroti and of other Chaco tribes is in fact only a secondary phenomenon, evidently dependent on the social conditions which have developed among the tribes in this country, and which in their turn

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are due — at least in part — to geographical causes. As to the Choroti, it is to be noticed that among them the women in general have great social importance, to such an extent in fact, that we may speak of a real gynaecocracy. This is in the first place due to the numerical disproportion between the sexes which, at least at present, exists in this tribe. The causes of this phenomenon are difficult to assign; there is for instance, no general custom of killing new-born female children which would account for it. Infanticide is indeed practised in the case of monstrous children and twins, but it has reference to male children as well as to female. Female children are appreciated perhaps more than male children, for the very reason that women are so few in the Choroti society. Whatever the real cause of the numerical paucity of the women, it is this fact which explains their social influence. Besides this, we have to take into consideration the strict division of labour between the sexes existing among the Indians. For instance, sowing and planting, the carrying of fuel, the gathering of wild fruits, the brewing of intoxicating drinks, and a good deal of other home industries are wholly or chiefly incumbent on the women. This to the Indians means that no man *can* successfully do work which custom prescribes shall be done by a woman. A consequence of this is that particular importance is ascribed to female work as such and that women in general are held in great esteem. From this point of view we must also explain the custom that a man who marries must go and live with his wife's family. It is mainly due to the reluctance of her parents to separate from her on account of the work she performs. Among the Choroti no compensation is given for a bride, because no bargaining of any kind whatever takes place between the members of the tribes. Instead of that, custom prescribes that the young husband shall render services to her parents, which is only possible if he stays with the family of his spouse for a longer or shorter time. In this way matrilocal marriage in the Choroti and other Chaco tribes seems to me to have originated, although the Choroti at any rate are not now aware of these services being really obligatory and a form of compensation for the wife. Marriage among them appears now as a wholly private affair based upon the voluntary agreement of both parties. But where a matrilocal marriage has developed, the children are naturally looked upon as belonging in the first place to the mother and to her tribe or clan, whereas the husband's importance as a family father is only secondary.

The same kind of »mother-right» and gynaecocracy also prevails, or prevailed formerly, among the *Mataco* Indians who, for instance, allow